/428 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
570 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p):328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 309). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone ob-
262 serves. A law given by Yoálox says that berries -- actually, only
222 those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely,
[887] and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amáim there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amáin agúlu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At
262 certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

264 Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immode-
576 ration in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called súmja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

X881 /888 cont./
867 They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have en-
577 hanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinsfolk and friends among themselves; the uswala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

X881 This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly
867 strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation
576 would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the uswala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

X881 It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles,
867 ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of
888 respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people
576 must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

/889 cont./
them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Yamana demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged story-teller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be retiring in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Yamana have been assembled here; many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the uswáala. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Fuegian wisdom in education (313).

313. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1866 (p. 645).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. Our Fuegians are not content with that, however, and as capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the cjéxaus hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the uswáala consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to oft-repeated

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blended into one, called "Kloketen," among the Selk'nam. Compare Gusinde (bb):370 and (dd):1083.

Since the intrusion of European culture in the Cape Horn Archipelago, the strict procedure of the youth initiation has been relaxed, gradually and imperceptibly, but ultimately to the detriment of our Yamana. The initial indulgences obviously led to a regrettable deterioration of the original serious spirit of the čiéxaus celebration. It is the old people, who were brought up in the strictness of former times, who complain most of all about present-day laxity, inasmuch as they see in it a serious disadvantage to youth and a threat to the people as a whole.

On March 5, 1922, Gertie told me in detail about a considerable length of time she had spent, as a girl, at the Tekenika Mission. No religious influence from that period was apparent in her and I became convinced that the teachings of the missionaries had left absolutely no impression. She said: "At that time there were still many Yamana living. But since then most of our people have died, precisely because they are very careless about observing the former strict customs and have become very indifferent about many things. When I first entered the čiéxaus as an uŝwáala, I trembled with fear and terror. Full of awe, I showed my sponsors that I was willing and obedient. I carefully and faithfully fulfilled what was demanded by the daily program, which at that time was still very strict. At present even boys and small girls are admitted as uŝwáala. They are not bound by strict discipline because they are still too young. /959/ Because of all this, the good ancient customs are given up. Even important arrangements are no longer taken seriously enough [she means, besides the initiation, the general conduct of the tribal members]. This is probably why our people are now dying in such numbers. The rules of conduct and precepts of our ancestors were excellent, although strict and serious, but people lived well by them and were a great people!" Gertie is a person who appreciates the value of strict tradition and clings to it tenaciously.

Without doubt, even in the last few decades, the initiation was conducted, by and large, along the lines of ancient tradition. A minor incident in March, 1922, shows that, despite some laxity,

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the former strict regard for the prevailing regulations of the daily program is still demanded. One evening, shortly before the general dancing began, Adelheid inconspicuously handed Koppers and myself a few swallows of red wine from a small tin container beside her. Soon afterward she stepped into the ranks of dancers. While she was moving with them back and forth in the hut, her sister Gertie, who had been quiet up to now, seized the vessel of wine and ran out with it. After a few minutes she unexpectedly dashed back into the Great Hut, behaved very excitedly, and loudly cried: "A while ago my sister [Adelheid] handed those two [Europeans] there some wine, and only them. Such [partiality] is not customary in this hut; here all [present] must be invited if there is anything to be distributed! That is why I took away the wine that stood in a container beside her. I filled a bottle with it and have brought it back. All the other people should have some of it too!" Then Gertie placed herself approximately in the center of the čiéxaus hut and let the whole row of dancers pass by her. She handed the bottle to each one as he stood in front of her, so that he could take a swallow of wine. The dancer did not stop, but moved forward with short, mincing steps, swinging his dance staff. He merely bent his head to one side and opened his mouth. Walter stood at the main entrance as the winefkéxa, but since no one may be overlooked if there is something to be distributed, Walter likewise came dancing up to Gertie and let her put the wine bottle to his mouth, from which he took a swallow.

It is a general rule that everyone may help himself in case only individual persons have been remembered when edibles are being distributed. Anyone who has been passed by and wishes to retaliate will pull out a few branches from the covering of the hut or pick them out of his sleeping-place, light them, and excitedly rush up to the person who overlooked him. He terrorizes him by threatening him with the burning or smoldering branches; in fact, he sometimes burns him. No one is offended at this rough, violent treatment; rather, it is regarded as mild punishment for the monstrous selfishness displayed by the person in his partiality toward a few. Everyone present /960/ appreciates the indignation of the person seeking revenge, for their innermost feeling peremptorily demands that everyone conscientiously follow the most important rules of conduct, at least on the solemn occasion of the initiation.

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881 182 576 Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uswáala I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

881 182 177 If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

881 182 In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uswáala when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next čiéxaus celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough willpower to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uswáala came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the čiéxaus; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

881 182 147 We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee

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422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ēxuf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 476 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /972/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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431 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected 576 this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. [559] Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūāgūtāna, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tuŭagāna, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tuŭagangāmata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any k[illegible]nd thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in Engli[illegible]:572). The word atágu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him 576 what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

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already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper:179.

is not customary among these Fuegians /982/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (397). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justification for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (MM:XV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):39 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mission Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the Yamana, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

397. In Outes (g):53 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, loot the stores of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

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156 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself
577 in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The
[476] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1875) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

•576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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576 they were mad. Some women also behave with exaggerated impetuosity when they part after having had a good time together, for example, on the occasion of the čiexaus. These are not everyday forms of behavior, however.

On the other hand, there is a definite, conscious calculation in the movements and the talk of people who visit each other. Quietly and inconspicuously the visitor enters the hut and squats down near the fire. It is not customary to offer a seat. The visitor keeps his eyes on the ground in front of him and never looks around freely and openly. When he speaks, even at length, he raises them only now and then and does not look fixedly at anyone present. His words are measured and fall as though each one were carefully weighed beforehand. At the same time his bearing, even when he sits, is noticeably rigid. In the presence of others one may not lean back negligently, lounge around comfortably, or boorishly stretch oneself. Even very old people avoid behaving in an unmannerly way or otherwise acting without restraint. If a person is all alone, however, he rolls about in utter exuberance and stretches himself until he distorts his whole body, for now he knows no inhibitions. All the more credit must be given him for the self-control which he imposes upon himself even in front of his own children, to say nothing of visitors.

156 As a matter of principle the Yamana behaves as quietly as possible and without conspicuous vivacity wherever he is, whether he is eating or working and whether or not he is being observed. To a European the movement of a Fuegian is like that of a thief creeping up and stealing off again. The Fuegian has himself firmly under control, and he does not lose his poise even when strange objects fascinate him or foreign visitors face him with their outlandishness. Artlessly he shows a silent, motionless reserve (429), /1008/ which most of the seamen of earlier times

429. Spegazzini (a):167 gives a pertinent opinion: "The Fuegian is very quiet and restrained, especially with a stranger, covering all his feelings, all his passions, with a cloak of indifference" /translated from Spanish/. He gives an example of

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156 fright. The presence of a feared yékamuš of ill repute has an even more deadening and paralyzing effect on any exchange of ideas within a group. In free gatherings, however, above all in games and after a successful hunt, the atmosphere is gaily noisy and merry without restraint.

156 The taciturn, quiet behavior of the Yamana is also an ex-
576 pression of their natural modesty. This characteristic is clearly apparent when one compares them with the proud, self-confident Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1143). It is not the nature of our Fuegians to be noisily conspicuous or to push themselves forward, to boast in front of their own people or to act important among their neighbors, to irritate others with their own feats of strength or to brag about real achievements. Careful European observers are struck by the shy reserve and timid anxiety of the women and girls. This disposition naturally determines social behavior. On their errands and in their wanderings the women generally keep their eyes on the ground in front of them; one scarcely ever meets a woman who animatedly and inquisitively glances all about her. In a circle of women squatting around the hut fire one is very much aware of how they have control of their eyes; they will sit for a long time as though they did not dare raise them and give them free play. As a matter of fact, /1009/ even in old age they retain the retiring, inconspicuous behavior that is imposed upon every girl on the occasion of her menarche (p. 569). Nelly Lawrence was particularly careful about it, which seems all the more strange since a free, self-confident bearing would have been justified by her higher social position. In spite of this, however, she was proud to follow exactly the ways of her ancestors.

834 Moreover, etiquette insistently demands, even for adults, a degree of the separation of the sexes required of young people (p. 549). If several families gather together, the men and women immediately separate, and each group stays by itself if there is a long conversation or entertainment. It is true that they often join in group games because they take place in the open and in front of many people. If they assemble in a dwelling, the women squat either in a closed group near the entrance or in a circle behind the men who sit down around the fire. It is not permissible and at the very least arouses suspicion if a man enters a hut in which a woman is sitting alone, nor would a woman enter a hut where a man is

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517 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice tidbits have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):240 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans: "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dabbene (b):200 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

● 576 264 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

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57b 264 that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. 1, 474).

264 When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which 271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

57d 57b Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are 57b 201 customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

> 432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former

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however, admits: "Although there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, it nevertheless is much in evidence" /translated from Spanish/.

distances, when they have not seen each other for a long time, when they pass each other in their canoes without stopping, and when they have spent some time together happily. Intimate friends, whether men or women, rush impetuously toward each other after a long separation, embrace enthusiastically, and shake each other with impulsive hugs. They utter only sounds of joy, not definite words of greeting, until they let each other go. Snow: I, 346, for example, experienced the heartiness of their embrace: "It was in their friendly hugs that I felt most of their power, and the unpleasantness of too close a contact. The strength displayed in these hugs was greater than I could have supposed. It was, indeed, no joke to have this manifestation of their good-will. It was like being pressed in a wedge" /cited in English/. Adults do not kiss, but even today, just as formerly, women and, occasionally, men press their mouths hard against the cheek of a baby among their relatives. This type of kiss, ŭpášu (433),

433. Hence the assertion of Spegazzini (a): 166, for example, or of Hyades (p):334 that "the kiss is quite unknown" /translated from French/ is incorrect BD:101 translates the above expression as follows: "to make any smacking noise with the lips or mouth, or fingers; to kiss" /cited in English/.

means affectionate intimacy between parents and their darlings (p. 514).

576 Anyone who takes formal leave says loudly, "hálla, yĕlla, I am going away"; according to BD:263, "I'm off, I'm going away" /cited in English/. According to BD:263, hálla kătakálla, meaning "I will go, i.e., I will wait no longer, I think I had better go" /cited in English/, is more explicit, as is hálla yellálla skálla. As Bridges (MM:VII, 118;1873) reliably maintains, /1013/ this is "the only form of farewell known here" /cited in English/.

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●516 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ŭla yĕlla, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ʃpa sʃ, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ʃpa sʃ. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "hĭf hĭma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 302 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tĕppi, not just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the uʃwĭala in the čĭexaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

517 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the ɛiɛ́ɛaan
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakuɛ́ruwaɛ́ipa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[648] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the ɛiɛ́ɛaan and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smiles of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
525 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1914 cont./

574 575 the burdensome itch caused by lice. When they are not doing that, they habitually pick their noses with their thick fingers, and with the flat of the hand they wipe off the phlegm from their noses and smear it on the ground or on the wall of the hut. In all these things our Yamana resemble the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463), but the latter are in general cleaner than the Yamana. Every European is considerably repulsed by their offensive behavior which is so far removed from our rules of decency.

574 574 We must also briefly describe how conversation generally takes place during ordinary visit. A person who has entered a hut as a guest crouches silently by the fire for a while. He does not look about inquisitively nor make conspicuous movements (p. 914). Finally he manages to say a few words in a low voice and leads into unimportant matters. Presently he describes his canoe trip and his experiences with the weather during the last few days. If he happens to have had an exciting hunt, he takes particular pleasure in describing it in minute detail. Meanwhile he works himself into quite a lively state. After that he goes on excitedly and from /1015/ one experience to another, to the satisfaction of those present, and he stops only after many hours. No one dares interrupt him; no one would show boredom, no matter how much he felt it. No matter how great the suspense of those present about a certain incident experienced by the guest, no one would ask specific questions if the guest himself did not get around to telling about it. They do not want to annoy him in any way or to show inquisitiveness by a direct inquiry. The guest ends his tale when he feels like it; no one may presume to ask him to stop because of the late hour. Sometimes a long report is given by a talkative old man, which the company in the circle has heard more than once, but since memories concerning unwritten laws and ancient custom are always interwoven with it, such a story does not fail to have educational value for young people and does a great deal of good.

Frequently an account first given by a man alone develops into a real discussion, but there is never a loud confusion of voices or a disorderly hubbub because the younger people hold back their remarks in favor of their elders and by no means interrupt them. If women are present and something is discussed that concerns them, too, they may of course express their opinions within limits.

/1015 cont./

551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres- 201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "hff."

•576 It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone 579 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. People who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children.

522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yámanaša /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

/1016 cont./

522 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amuse-
576 ment, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana
431 regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or
574 guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1017 cont./

431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
574 (Fig. 45), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth. A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uswáala in the čiéxaus. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When
●576 they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (436).

436. Bridges (MM:III, 11;1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

/1017 cont./

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demonstration in loud speaking and vociferation, according to the feelings of the person speaking. So also, when a canoe or canoes depart, a public notice in the same way is given" /cited in English/.

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There is an atmosphere of intimate friendship among families who travel together for a certain time and camp beside each other. They are constantly finding occasions for neighborly visits on the beach. In any case the hunting successes of one family will attract the other, or one brings home things that the other could not find, and these are now /1018/ exchanged. Moreover, implements must be mended or new weapons made. For all this they like to ask the help or at least the opinion of their neighbor, if only out of the need to chat once more. These people are so intimate that they are as much at home in each other's huts as in their own. Whenever a family comes home with rich spoils, these in themselves have sufficient power of attraction to draw the neighbors without an invitation. Sometimes they are specially called together (437). If the gathering is somewhat large, it is known as

437. Bridges (VP:XIII, 213;1866) refers to this: "Sometimes a man and his wife give a feast; they then make a great fire, and cook what food they have, and when all is ready, they call the people together to partake. The host serves out the feast, and behaves very generously, and they are then very chatty" /cited in English/.

ɤkinaspi and has a certain formality. No matter what the arrangement, however, the atmosphere is intimate and unconstrained.

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185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, man or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [264] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed